

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BONN
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 134395

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: OTTAWA SENIOR LEVEL MEETING: CSCE DISCUSSION

1. AT JUNE 18 SENIOR LEVEL MEETING, PRECEDING QUAD DINNER, CSCE DISCUSSION REVOLVED PRINCIPALLY AROUND GERMAN OBJECTIONS TO PHRASE QUOTE OR WHICH CONCERN THEM UNQUOTE IN FRENCH-DRAFT DISCLAIMER LANGUAGE INTENDED FOR INSERTION INTO PRINCIPLE NUMBER 10. VAN WELL EXPLAINED THAT WHILE IT IS TRUE FRG HAS AGREED TO THIS FORMULA IN TWO PREVIOUS CASES, IT IS NOT RPT NOT WILLING SEE IT APPEAR IN 35-NATION AGREEMENT. AS ALTERNATIVE, FRG WOULD LIKE PHRASE QUOTE OR WHICH MUST BE RESPECTED BY THEM UNQUOTE, WHICH VAN WELL ARGUED WAS BOTH SIMPLER AND BETTER. DEBATE ENSUED BETWEEN VAN WELL AND FRENCH CHAIRMAN DE MARGERIE WITH INCONCLUSIVE RESULT EXCEPT IT CLEAR FRENCH NOT RPT NOT BACKING OFF THEIR LANGUAGE.

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2. VAN WELL ALSO REFERRED TO SOVIET INSISTENCE ON

INTERNATIONAL LAW AS THIRD ELEMENT WITH BEARING ON BORDER CHANGE, AND SAID FRG WOULD INSIST ON ADDING SELF-DETERMINATION AS YET ANOTHER ELEMENT, THUS PERHAPS INDUCING SOVIETS TO BACK AWAY FROM INTERNATIONAL LAW IF FRG WOULD DROP SELF-DETERMINATION. VAN WELL'S PRESENTATION THESE COMPLEX LANGUAGE PROBLEMS LESS THAN TOTALLY CLEAR, BUT IT IS VERY CLEAR THAT FRG UNHAPPY.

3. ON MORE GENERAL NOTE, VAN WELL GAVE LONG AND RATHER BITTER ACCOUNT OF WHAT HE DEPICTED AS ISOLATION AND ABANDONMENT BY ALLIES OF FRG AT GENEVA, ESPECIALLY APRIL 5 WHEN PEACEFUL CHANGE LANGUAGE ADOPTED. HE SAID HE HAS IMPRESSION NONE OF GENEVA DELEGATIONS ARE AWARE OF THE IMPACT ON GERMAN QUESTIONS OF WHAT THEY ARE DOING. HE SAID FRG NOT ADVOCATING THAT BONN GROUP ISSUE ORDERS TO GENEVA DELS, BUT GENEVA DELS SIMPLY MUST BE MADE UNDERSTAND THAT THEY ARE TO HOLD LINE AND DEFEND IT UNTIL NEW INSTRUCTIONS COME FROM CAPITALS. HE SAID IT MUST NEVER AGAIN HAPPEN THAT THE FRG SUDDENLY FINDS ITSELF ISOLATED THERE.

4. IN SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION, US REP WITH SUPPORT FROM UK AND FRENCH REPS SAID THERE MUST INDEED BE THE CLOSEST CONSULTATION AND CROSS-REFERENCE AMONG BONN GROUP, GENEVA DELS, AND CAPITALS ON CSCE MATTERS, BUT IT IS GENEVA DELS WHO FACE ACTUAL NEGOTIATING PROBLEMS AND IT IS ESSENTIAL THEIR VIEWS BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT, AS WELL AS BONN GROUP VIEWS. FRENCH CHAIRMAN SUMMED UP BY SAYING WE WILL JUST HAVE TO BE FLEXIBLE, REMEMBERING WE HAVE TO CARRY ALONG THE REST OF OUR ALLIES AND THE NEUTRALS AS WELL. KISSINGER

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